

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1809

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 1824

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: CDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING FEB 28

SUMMARY: AD HOC GROUP MET FEBRUARY 28 UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES). THERE WAS DETAILED DISCUSSION OF US REPS REPORT ON FEBRUARY 27 INFORMAL SESSION WITH EASTERN REPS (DETAILS SEPTEL). CHAIRMAN PROPOSED US, CANADA AND FRG REPRESENT AD HOC GROUP AT NEXT INFORMAL SESSION TO BE HELD MONDAY, MARCH 4. BILATERALS BETWEEN CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) AND POLISH REP (STRULAK) AND BETWEEN BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) AND STRULAK HINTED THAT EAST IS READY TO AGREE TO ONE PLENARY PER WEEK. AD HOC GROUP AUTHORIZED BELGIUM REP TO SEEK EASTERN AGREEMENT WITH POLISH REP FOR ONE PLENARY PER WEEK, STARTING WEEK OF MARCH 4.

BILATERALS:

US REP REPORTED THAT DURING BRIEF TALK WITH POLISH REP AND  
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SOVIET DEPREP (SMIRNOVSKY) THAT SMIRNOVSKY THOUGHT THE

EMPHASIS PLACED ON STABILIZATION DURING FEBRUARY 28 PLENARY STATEMENT BY FRG REP WAS DISCOURAGING, AS WAS THE AMOUNT OF DETAIL THAT WOULD BE REQUIRED TO IMPLEMENT THESE PROPOSALS. HE ALSO QUESTIONED THE LIMITATION TO US AND SOVIET FORCES. UK REP DISTRIBUTED SUMMARY OF HIS CALL ON ROMANIAN REP (ANINOIU) FEBRUARY 27, REQUESTED IN ORDER TO BRIEF ROMANIAN REP ON SUBSTANCE OF INFORMAL SESSIONS. FRG REP REPORTED HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY POLISH REP THAT WARSAW WAS WELL INFORMED ON PHASE I BUT CONFUSED ON PHASE II, AND WOULD ALSO PREFER SYMBOLIC PHASE I EUROPEAN REDUCTION. GROUP APPROVED OUTLINE OF THIRD PRESENTATION ON STABILIZATION MEASURES TO BE GIVEN BY BELGIUM REP WEEK OF MARCH 4. END SUMMARY.

1. NETHERLANDS REP SUGGESTED THERE WAS A NEED TO FIND A PRACTICAL METHOD OF DRAFTING OUTLINES FOR TALKING POINTS TO BE USED IN FUTURE INFORMAL SESSIONS WHICH WOULD NOT SACRIFICE ADEQUATE REFLECTION FOR EFFICIENCY. HE APPRECIATED THAT AS VERY LITTLE TIME IS AVAILABLE, INFORMAL SESSIONS CANNOT BE MADE DEPENDENT ON A DRAFTING GROUP SCHEDULE AS HAD BEEN PROPOSED. HE SUGGESTED THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF EACH OUTLINE SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE REPRESENTATIVES CHOSEN FOR EACH MEETING. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE AD HOC GROUP NEED NOT THOROUGHLY CONSIDER THE SUBSTANCE OF THE OUTLINE, BUT THAT THE INITIAL DRAFT AND TACTICS SHOULD BE LEFT TO THOSE REPS INVOLVED.

2. UK REP EXPRESSED HIS GENERAL AGREEMENT, AT THE SAME TIME STRESSING THAT THE OUTLINES COULD BE OF CONSIDERABLE POLICY PROPORTIONS. HE FELT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OUTLINES SHOULD REMAIN WITH THE AD HOC GROUP, RATHER THAN WITH INDIVIDUAL REPS. HE POINTED OUT THAT REPS FOR INDIVIDUAL INFORMAL SESSIONS ARE OFTEN NOT DECIDED UNTIL THE DAY BEFORE THE SESSIONS. HE AGREED THAT THE SESSIONS SHOULD CONTINUE AT A REASONABLE TEMPO, BUT NOT AT THE SACRIFICE OF PROPER REFLECTION. NETHERLANDS REP PROPOSED IT WAS POSSIBLE TO PLAN WHO WOULD REPRESENT FAR ENOUGH IN ADVANCE TO MEET UK RESERVATIONS.

3. ITALIAN DEPREP (TALIANI) AGREED THAT UK REP HAD RAISED  
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AN IMPORTANT POINT. THE TALKING POINTS ARE OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE. PERHAPS INSTEAD OF THE DRAFTING GROUP, HEADS OF DELEGATIONS MIGHT PREFER TO TAKE PART IN THE DRAFTING OF OUTLINES. HE SUGGESTED THAT, AS HAD BEEN DONE IN THE PREPARATORY TALKS, AN OPEN-ENDED DRAFTING GROUP BE CREATED. CANADIAN REP SUPPORTED THE ITALIAN PROPOSAL, STATING THAT IT HAD WORKED WELL IN THE PRELIMINARY TALKS. HE SUGGESTED THE NEXT OUTLINE BE PREPARED BY A GROUP CONSISTING OF

REPS FOR THE NEXT INFORMAL SESSION AND ANY OTHER INTER-ESTED REPS. THIS OUTLINE DRAFT WOULD BE SUBMITTED TO THE AD HOC GROUP FOR FINAL APPROVAL. BELGIUM REP AGREED THAT THE OUTLINES SHOULD NOT BE TRI-LATERALLY DRAWN UP AND THAT THE NEW OPEN-ENDED GROUP SHOULD ALSO INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE LAST INFORMAL SESSION. CHAIRMAN CONFIRMED IT WAS THE FEELING OF THE GROUP TO CREATE SUCH AN OPEN-ENDED GROUP.

4. UK REP SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THAT THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY OF DRAFTING THE OUTLINE LAY WITH THOSE REPS ATTENDING THE NEXT MEETING. HE STRESSED THAT THOSE REPS MERELY REPRESENTED THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP AND HAD BEEN GIVEN NO ADDITIONAL POLICY FORMULATION RESPONSIBILITIES. CANADIAN REP DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN RESPONSIBILITY FOR INITIAL DRAFTING AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR FINAL DISCUSSION, DEVELOPMENT AND APPROVAL. HE STRESSED THAT THE PROPOSED OPEN-ENDED GROUP WOULD ONLY PROVIDE THE INITIAL DRAFT. THERE WAS NO SUGGESTION OF DELEGATING POLICY FORMULATION RESPONSIBILITY. NETHERLANDS REP STRESSED THAT THE GROUP WAS TO BE OPEN TO ALL INTERESTED DELEGATIONS. ITALIAN DEPREP STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF ANNOUNCING IN ADVANCE THE TIME AND

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 1824

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

PLACE THE OPEN-ENDED GROUP WOULD BE MEETING.

5. FRG REP (BEHREND) AGREED THAT THE DECISIVE FORUM SHOULD REMAIN THE AD HOC GROUP, BUT THAT A SMALLER FORUM WAS NEEDED TO PROVIDE INITIAL MATERIAL TO THE AD HOC GROUP. HE DID NOT DEEM IT USEFUL, HOWEVER, TO CREATE A SECOND WORKING GROUP. THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WAS TO GET A SENSIBLE STARTING DRAFT, AND HE FELT THE PRESENT DRAFTING GROUP A PROPER FORUM FOR THIS ACTIVITY. CHAIRMAN CONSIDERED THE CONSENSUS WAS TO FORM A NEW OPEN-ENDED GROUP TO PREPARE INITIAL DRAFTS.

6. NETHERLANDS REP PROPOSED THE NEXT INFORMAL SESSION BE ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, CANADA AND THE FRG. THERE WERE NO OBJECTIONS FROM THE AD HOC GROUP.

7. CANADIAN REP EXPLAINED HIS ANNOUNCEMENT AT PLENARY  
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MORNING OF FEBRUARY 28 THAT THERE WOULD BE A PLENARY DURING WEEK OF MARCH 4 AT AN AS YET TO BE DETERMINED TIME. HE HAD, ALONG WITH BELGIUM REP, DISCUSSED THE PROBLEM WITH STRULAK BEFORE THE PLENARY, AND LATTER APPEARED READY TO AGREE TO ONE SESSION A WEEK. BELGIUM REP HAD BEEN TOLD BY STRULAK THAT, WHILE STRULAK WAS WILLING TO DROP ONE PLENARY PER WEEK, BEFORE FORMALLY AGREEING TO THIS, HE HAD TO CONSULT WITH SOVIET REP.

8. FRG REP STATED THAT AT LUNCH WITH STRULAK FEBRUARY 28 HE WAS INFORMED THAT STRULAK HAD SECURED AGREEMENT FOR ONE PLENARY PER WEEK FROM ALL EASTERN PARTICIPANTS EXCEPT ROMANIA. ROMANIAN REP (ANINOIU) AND DEPREP (POPESCU) WERE BOTH OUT OF TOWN. STRULAK SAID HE WOULD PREFER ONE SESSION ON EITHER WEDNESDAY OR THURSDAY. BELGIUM REP PROPOSED THAT THE AD HOC GROUP TRY TO SECURE AGREEMENT FROM EAST FOR ONE PLENARY PER WEEK. IF ROMANIA WANTED MORE THAN ONE PLENARY, THEY WOULD BE OBLIGATED TO SPEAK. CHAIRMAN, ON BEHALF OF GROUP, ASKED BELGIUM REP TO MEET WITH POLISH REP TO PROPOSE ONE PLENARY PER WEEK, PREFERABLY THURSDAY OR WEDNESDAY.

9. BILATERALS: US REP REPORTED THAT IN BRIEF DISCUSSION WITH POLISH REP AND SOVIET DEPREP (SMIRNOVSKY)

FOLLOWING PLENARY FEBRUARY 28, SMIRNOVSKY THOUGHT CANADIAN PRESENTATION ON STABILIZING MEASURES IN PLENARY HAD BEEN DIVERSIONARY AND DESIGNED TO LEAD AWAY FROM DISCUSSION OF REDUCTIONS. HE QUESTIONED THE AMOUNT OF DETAIL PROPOSED IN CANADIAN STATEMENT, AND QUESTIONED WHY THE PROPOSALS WERE LIMITED TO US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES. THEY SHOULD LOGICALLY HAVE COVERED EUROPEANS.

10. US REP REPLIED THAT PRESENT STABILIZING MEASURES WERE DESIGNED TO COMPLEMENT ALLIED PHASE I PROPOSAL ON REDUCTION OF US-SOVIET FORCES. UK REP SUBMITTED WRITTEN REPORT OF A CALL HE HAD PAID ON ROMANIAN REP, AT THE REQUEST OF THE AD HOC GROUP, TO BRIEF ROMANIAN REP ON THE OUTCOME OF THE INFORMAL SESSIONS. ROMANIAN REP APPRECIATED THE GESTURE AND STATED IT WAS THE FIRST INFORMATION HE HAD RECEIVED ON THE PRO-CONFIDENTIAL

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GRESS OF THE INFORMAL SESSIONS SINCE THE FIRST INFORMAL DINNER, EVEN FROM EASTERN SOURCES.

11. UK REP ASKED THE AD HOC GROUP WHETHER IT WERE POSSIBLE THAT THE WESTERN CONTACTS WITH THE ROMANIANS COULD BE INTERPRETED AS A BREACH OF FAITH BY THE SOVIETS. HE ANSWERED HIS OWN QUESTION, SAYING HE THOUGHT NOT. HE ASSUMED ROMANIANS WOULD PREFER TO PROTECT THEIR SOURCES. HE CONSIDERED THE CALL A FAVORABLE DIPLOMATIC COURTESY BUT OF LITTLE SUBSTANTIVE ADVANTAGE.

12. FRG REP, DURING LUNCH WITH POLISH REP FEBRUARY 28, HAD ASKED IF ANY WRITTEN RECORD WAS KEPT BY THE EAST OF THE INFORMAL SESSIONS. STRULAK ANSWERED NO, EACH COUNTRY KEPT ITS OWN RECORDS. NO WRITTEN RECORD WAS PROVIDED NON-DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. STRULAK MUSED THAT HE MIGHT PREFER INCREASING THE SIZE OF THE INFORMAL SESSIONS TO FOUR REPRESENTATIVES ON EACH SIDE ALTHOUGH THIS, EXCLUDING ROMANIANS, WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE A WORKABLE IDEA.

13. STRULAK HAD JUST RETURNED FROM WARSAW, WHERE HE HAD HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT HIS AUTHORITIES, WHILE WELL INFORMED ON PHASE I WESTERN PROPOSALS, WERE SOMEWHAT CONFUSED AS TO THE PROPOSED CONTENT OF PHASE II. HE ALSO ASKED WHETHER IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER A SYMBOLIC PHASE I REDUCTION OF EUROPEAN FORCES, TO WHICH BEHREND REPLIED NO. STRULAK HAD THE SLIGHT IMPRESSION FROM WESTERN STATEMENTS IN FEBRUARY 27 INFORMAL SESSION THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PHASE I MIGHT BE DRAWN OUT TO 1976 OR 1977, WHICH WOULD BE

UNACCEPTABLE TO THE EAST. HE ALSO QUESTIONED THE  
IDEA OF A CEILING ON REDUCED FORCES. BEHREND'S REPLIED  
HE HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS MATTER, BUT IT WAS  
OBVIOUS REDUCTIONS WOULD REQUIRE SOME NON-CIRCUMVENTION

CLAUSE.

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## Message Attributes

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